

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 EB-07

NEA-09 NIC-01 SAJ-01 FEA-01 OES-03 COME-00 TRSE-00

/084 W

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R 180730Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4185

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USCINCEUR

DOD WASHDC

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1268

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ENRG, MASS, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDISH NEUTRALITY DEBATE

1. SUMMARY. RECENT WEEKS HAVE WITNESSED LIVELY DEBATE
IN SWEDEN ON IMPLICATIONS FOR SWEDISH NEUTRALITY OF GOS
DECISION TO JOIN IEA, PARTICIPATION IN F-104 REPLACEMENT
COMPETITION, ETC. IN TV APPEARANCE MARCH 13, FOREIGN
MINISTER ANDERSSON DENIED THAT THESE ACTIONS HAVE VITIATED
SWEDISH NEUTRALITY, ALTHOUGH CONCEDED THAT IS IS BECOMMING
"INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT" TO FOLLOW A NEUTRAL LINE. SWEDISH
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FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE MET MARCH 14 TO CONSIDER WHETHER

SWEDISH ADHERENCE TO "FLOOR PRICE" FOR OIL AND "SOLIDARITY FUND" COMPATIBLE WITH SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. ENTIRE ISSUE OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY TO BE DISCUSSED IN ANNUAL RIKSDAG FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 19. END SUMMARY.

2. THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINUING DEBATE IN RECENT WEEKS WITHIN SWEDEN OVER THE IMPACT ON THE COUNTRY'S NEUTRALITY OF CERTAIN RECENT ACTIONS BY THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT. THE DEBATE WAS ORIGINALLY TOUCHED OFF LAST FALL, WHEN THE GOS MADE THE DECISION TO JOIN THE NEWLY CREATED IEA. AT THAT TIME A NUMBER OF DOMESTIC CRITICS, BOTH FROM THE COMMUNIST AND CENTER PARTIES, AS WELL AS THE LEFT WING OF THE RULING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, QUESTIONED THE ADVISABILITY OF NEUTRAL SWEDEN JOINING AN ORGANIZATION WHICH, ACCORDING TO THEM, MIGHT EVENTUALLY FIND ITSELF IN A CONFRONTATION WITH THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO ATTACH A NEUTRALITY CLAUSE TO ITS MEMBERSHIP QUIETED AT LEAST SOME OF THE CRITICISM.

3. THE NEXT ISSUE WHICH AROUSED CONCERN ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY WAS THAT OF SWEDISH PARTICIPATION IN THE COMPETITION FOR REPLACEMENT OF THE F-104. AS POINTED OUT BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTE, AKE SPARRING, IN A JANUARY ARTICLE IN IS (INTERNATIONAL STUDIES) THE VERY PARTICIPATION OF SWEDEN IN THE COMPETITION "MOVES US INTO EUROPE AND THEREBY INTO THE PART OF THE WORLD IN WHICH OUR NEUTRALITY POLICY IS PART OF THE SECURITY POLICY." SPARRING ADDED THAT "TEN YEARS AGO, THE MERE THOUGHT OF SUCH AN AFFAIR WOULD HAVE BEEN BLUBBED DOWN AS AN ATTEMPT TO TORPEDO OUR ENTIRE NEUTRALITY POLICY." (STOCKHOLM A-007). THIS CONCERN BECAME EVEN MORE PRESSING FOLLOWING A STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER SVEN ANDERSSON IN PARLIAMENT ON JAN. 21 REVEALING THAT SWEDEN HAD GIVEN CERTAIN "GUARANTEES" TO THE FOUR NATO COUNTRIES CONSIDERING PURCHASE OF A REPLACEMENT FOR THE STARFIGHTER THAT WERE UNDERSTOOD TO IMPLY THAT SWEDEN WOULD DELIVER THE VIGGEN TO THEM EVEN IN THE EVENT OF A EUROPEAN CONFLICT SHOULD THEY DECIDE TO PURCHASE THE

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SWEDISH AIRCRAFT.

4. THE CRITICISM BY SOVIET AND FINNISH SOURCES OF THESE ACTIONS (STOCKHOLM 792 AND 711) AS WELL AS OF A STATEMENT BY SWEDISH SUPREME COMMANDER SYNNERGREN POINTING TO THE POTENTIAL DANGERS TO SWEDEN OF EXPANDED COOPERATION BETWEEN FINNISH AND SOVIET RAIL AND ROAD NETWORKS, HAS ALSO STIMULATED INCREASED DEBATE WITHIN SWEDEN ON THE THEME OF

SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. IN AN INTERVIEW WHICH APPEARED ON SWEDISH TV MARCH 13, FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON DENIED THAT SWEDISH NEUTRALITY HAD BEEN IN ANY WAY DIMINISHED BY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. WITH REGARD TO THE IEA, THE FOREIGN MINISTER REPEATED THE JUSTIFICATION MADE BY SUPPORTERS OF MEMBERSHIP LAST FALL, I.E., THAT REMAINING OUTSIDE THE ORGANIZATION COULD UNDERMINE SWEDISH NEUTRALITY BY MAKING IT VULNERABLE TO PRESSURES FROM THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1268

WITH REGARD TO THE VIGGEN, ANDERSSON FINESSED HIS COMMENTS BY POINTING OUT THAT NO AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SIGNED WITH THE

FOUR NATO COUNTRIES AND THAT SINCE THE QUESTION OF QUARANTEES WOULD APPLY ONLY IF THE VIGGEN WERE PURCHASED, NO FINAL DECISION HAD BEEN MADE ON THIS POINT. ANDERSSON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN PERIOD OF GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE, IT IS BECOMING "INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT" TO FOLLOW A NEUTRAL LINE, AND POINTED OUT THAT BY TRADITION AND HISTORY, SWEDEN BELONGS TO THE "WESTERN SPHERE." THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASSERTED THAT THE KEY TO SWEDISH NEUTRALITY IS THE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO REMAIN OUTSIDE MILITARY CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIANCE IN PEACETIME. ON THIS ISSUE, HE CONCLUDED, THERE IS AND CAN BE NO COMPROMISE.

5. THE SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE, COMPOSED OF LEADING CABINET MEMBERS AND HEADS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES (EXCEPT THE COMMUNISTS), MET MARCH 14 TO CONSIDER WHETHER SWEDISH PARTICIPATION IN CERTAIN PROPOSALS BEFORE THE IEA--THE "SOLIDARITY FUND," AND AN OIL FLOOR PRICE-- WOULD BE COMPATIBLE WITH SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN THE ANNUAL RIKSDAG FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE MARCH 19. IN ADDITION, THE ENTIRE QUESTION OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY WILL BE DEALT WITH IN THAT DEBATE. IN THIS CONNECTION, AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN ASSURED BY TWO SENIOR SWEDISH MFA OFFICIALS THAT THE MARCH 19 DEBATE WILL CONTAIN "NOTHING TO WHICH US CAN OBJECT."

6. COMMENT: AS FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON STATED, FOLLOWING A STRICTLY NEUTRAL POLICY HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT IN A PERIOD CHARACTERIZED BY GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE. WHILE THE DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE IEA AND THE F-104 COMPETITION HAS ENTAILED OBLIGATIONS NEUTRAL SWEDEN WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO AVOID, NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE DEVELOPMENTS COULD HAVE HAD EVEN MORE FAR-REACHING IMPLICATION FOR SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. FAILURE TO JOIN THE IEA WOULD HAVE MADE SWEDEN EXTREMELY VULNERABLE TO PRESSURES FROM THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES TO TAKE A STAND ON THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT AT VARIANCE WITH SWEDEN'S TRADITIONAL LINE IN THAT AREA. AND PARTICIPATION IN THE COMPETITION FOR THE STARFIGHTER REPLACEMENT HAS REFLECTED SWEDEN'S EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN A VIABLE AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY AND HENCE THE CREDIBILITY OF ITS ARMED NEUTRALITY. SO FAR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN WILLING TO REJECT CRITICISM FROM THE COMMUNISTS AND ITS OWN LEFTWING IN ADOPTING A PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO DECISIONS AFFECTING NEUTRALITY. AT THE SAME TIME IT HAS INSISTED ON SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE STEPS BY UTILIZING THE FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE TO PASS ON THE MORE SENSITIVE QUESTIONS. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE CRITICISM,

THE GOS IN THE FUTURE MAY BE EXPECTED TO APPROACH MORE
CAUTIOUSLY ANY NEW INITIATIVES THAT ITS IEA MEMBERSHIP
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OR OTHER FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES MAY REQUIRE.
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